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ABSTRACT

Beginning with an overview of the development of the country's educational policy since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, this paper provides an information survey on the current state of education in the People's Republic of China. After brief sections on the relations between Chinese society and the educational system and current trends in the areas of economic production and employment, the paper's fourth and longest section discusses the Chinese educational system in terms of its general structure, enrollment patterns in general and in secondary education in particular, and the current state of Chinese higher education. In the paper's final section, which examines the achievements, problems, and future prospects for education in China, it is noted that, although the Chinese population has doubled since 1949, the illiteracy rate has decreased from 80 percent to 23.5 percent. Since 1983/84, political attitudes seem to have been accorded increased importance in the new criteria for college admittance. The paper concludes by emphasizing the importance of analyzing the new national school books in China to determine more precisely the current direction of Chinese education. Extensive statistical data as well as bibliographical references are included. (JBM)

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Current Tendencies of Educational Politics in the People's Republic of China

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1. Some Remarks on the Development in the PR China since 1976

After the death of Mao Zedong (9/8/1976), the fall of 'gang four' (1o/5-6/1976) the XIth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China (8/12-18/1977) initiated a new orientation of the Chinese development policy. Its goal is to built up China to a powerful socialist country 'with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technics' till the end of this century.[1] The key for these Four Modernizations is lying in the modernization of science and technics as Deng Xiaoping told in his speech on the National Conference about Science, March 18,1978.[2] On the following National Conference about Education Deng Xiaoping required (4/22/1978) to 'train a huge army of working class intellectuals and to lift up substantially the scientific and cultural level of the whole Chinese nation'.[3] These general directions of the Chinese development policy: Four Modernizations, key role of science and technics, qualitative and quantitative improvement of education was kept up on the XIIth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China (9/1-11/1984).[4] The educational system will play a fundamental role in the successful realization of the Four Modernizations. Therefore, the relation between society and educational system in modern China will be of specific interest.

2. Relations between Society and Educational System

The educational system is a social institution which is in relation between other parts (sub systems) of the society like the production and employment system, the social structure and the political system. Following the conceptions of Parsons[5] and later developments in this field by Fend[6], the educational system has to fulfill the functions of qualification, selection and integration. With the function of qualification the relation between the educational system and the production and employment system is specified in the following dimensions: In the qualitative dimension the question is which types of qualifications should be trained/produced by the educational system, consequences for the establishment of types of schools,

curriculum, teaching methods, teaching materials, teacher training etc. In the quantitative dimension questions are how many qualifications should be trained, the capacity of the different streams of the school system, the number of teachers needed, the expenses etc. The function of selection concerns in relation to the social structure. Under this topic questions, like reconstruction of social structures by the educational system, equal opportunity of social classes, sex, regions, ethnic-religious-cultural origin. The function of integration includes the relation between the educational and political system. The core questions are values, attitudes, patterns of interpretation . These three functions are related to each other. For example: The necessity of social legitimization of selection criterias - like the proportion of 'red and expert' in the PR China - bridges to the function of integration. Therefore, a separate treatment of these functions is justified only from an analytical point of view.[7)]

In the following, there will be a concentration on the quantitative dimension of the qualification function in the PR China. Therefore, some basic indicators about the production and employment system will be introduced, followed by a description of the educational system, enrolments on different levels and types of the educational system from pre-school up to higher levels. The paper will close with some tentative conclusions about the functions of qualification, selection and integration, a short outlook of the educational policy in the future and the announcement of a project concerning qualitative aspects of the functions of qualification and integration just started at Bremen University by the author.

3. Basic Indicators for the Production and Employment System

In the World Development Report of the World Bank (1983)[8)] you will find the following figure for PR China. For giving the American reader only some tentative evaluation criterias the basic indicators of the USA are added. Concerning the figures in the following chapters the following has to be mentioned:

All figures should be interpreted and handled carefully. They are indeed 'only' rough indicators for the development process in a country and for the policy run.

Table 1: Basic indicators of the economy for the PR China and the United States of America

	China		USA	
Population mid 1981 (millions)	991,3		229,8	
Gross National Product (GNP) per capita (US$) 1981	3oo		12,82o	
Percentage in:	1961	1981	196o	1981
-Agriculture	47 [9)]	35	4	3
-Industry	33	46	38	34
-Services	2o	2o	58	63
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) -growth rate	5,2	5,5	4,3	2,9
Average annual growth rate in:	1961-7o	197o-81	196o-7o	197o-81
-Agriculture	1,6	2,8	o,5	1,6
-Industry	11,2	8,3	4,6	2,3
-Services	5,7	4,4	4,4	3,3
Average annual growth rate of labour force:	196o-7o	197o-81	196o-7o	197o-81
-past	1,7	1,8	1,8	1,9
-estimated	198o-2ooo		198o-2ooo	
	1,6		o,9	

Source: World Development Report, 1983, World Bank, Washington D.C.,1983

Following the classification of the World Bank the PR China belongs to the countries with low income. Compared with industrialized countries the portion gross national product per capita is low, but slightly high compared with countries with low income. The portion of agriculture has decreased in the last twenty years, the portion of industry has increased in the opposite way, the portion of services has been constant. Compared with agriculture and services the annual growth rate in industry was the highest, the average annual growth rate of labour force remained constant. Nevertheless the labour force has doubled since 1952.

Table 2: Labour Force (Year-end Figures)

Year	Total (millions)	Staff and workers %	Individual labourers in cities and towns %	Collective and individual labourers in rural areas %	
1949	18o,82	4,5	4	91,5	loo
1952[1o)]	2o7,29	7,7	4,3	88	loo
196o	258,88o	23,1	o,6	76,3	loo
197o	344,32	18,1	o,3	81,6	loo
198o	418,96	24,9	o,2	74,9	loo
1981	432,8o	25,2	o,2	74,5	loo
1982	447,o6	2o,4	o,3	74,4	loo

Source: Statistical Yearbook of China 1983, p. 12o.

The proportion of employment in rural areas decreased since 1949. But in 1982 still three quarters of the 447 millions worked in rural areas. This should be remembered during the discussion about regional equal educational opportunity. An interesting figur is the constance since 197o and nowadays the slight increase of the portion of 'individual labourers in cities and towns'. This is an indicator for the new employment policy in the PR China. Actually about 2o millions of young people are trying to enter the employment sector yearly, and there are not enough jobs for them. The government allows and encourages these persons - especially the unemployed - to rise up small own enterprises since 1979. In 1978 there have been 15o,ooo 'individual labourers', 1979: 32o,oo and in 1982: 1,47o,ooo in cities and towns only.[11)] Table 3) shows that they are concentrated in commerce, catering, trade, service trade etc.

In this table the sector'others' might be a rough indicator for unemployment. Scientific research, culture etc. total of 3.7 % is overrepresented in cities and towns (4.3 %) and underrepresented in rural areas (1.1 %).

Table 3:

Labour Force Employed by Sector of the National Economy (End of 1982)

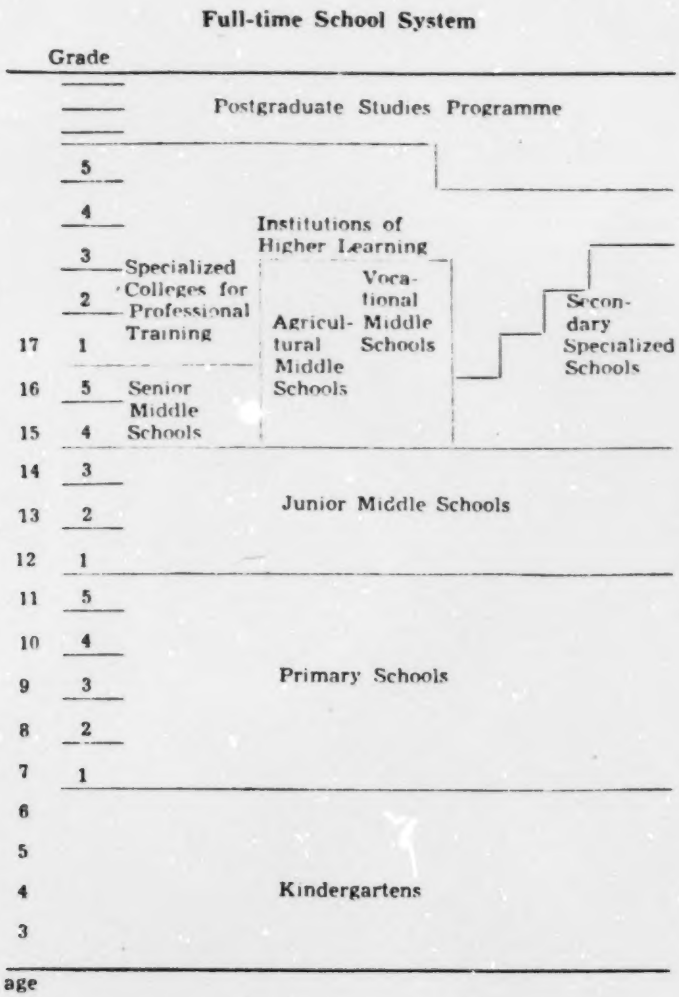
Sector	Total	Staff and workers in state-owned units	Staff and workers in collective-owned units in cities and towns	Individual labourers in cities and towns	Collective and individual labourers in rural areas
Proportions (%)					
Industry	13.2	40.6	57.8	10.9	2.7
Construction and resources prospecting	3.0	7.9	10.6	0.6	1.1
Agriculture, forestry, water conservancy and meteorology	71.6	9.3	2.1		93.6
Transport, posts and telecommunications	1.9	6.0	8.2	1.4	0.3
Commerce, catering trade, service trade and supply and marketing of materials	4.1	13.7	14.4	87.1	0.4
Scientific research, culture, education, public health and social welfare	3.7	13.6	4.3		1.1
Government agencies and people's organizations	1.4	6.5	0.5		0.1
Others	1.1	2.4	2.1		0.7
Absolute figures (bases) (millions)	447.06	86.3	26.51	1.47	332.78

Source: Statistical Yearbook of China 1983, p. 121.

4. The Educational System

4.1 The General Structure

Figure 1:



Source: China Handbook Series. Education and Science. Beijing 1983, p. 31.

Pre-school or kindergarten starts at age three-four years. It consists of up to three years groups. There are five years of primary school, three years of junior middle school, two years of senior middle school, and two-five years higher education.[12)] To enter the next type of school system an entrance examination has to be passed. This is new since 1977. There are additional examinations at the end of each term.

4.2 Total Enrolment

To get a brief impression about the administrative work which has to be done, here some late figures about student enrolments on different levels of the educational system:

Table 4: Total School Enrolment (millions)

	198o	1981	1982
Pre-school	11.5o8	1o.562	11.13o
Primary level	146.27o	143.332	139.72o
Secondary level (middle school)	56.778	5o.146	47.o28
Higher level (college, university)	1.144	1.279	1.154
Total	215.7oo	2o5.319	199.o32

Source: Statistical Yearbook of China 1983, p. 511, Henze 1983, pp. 21o.[13)]

The student enrolment is about 2oo millions (compared with the population of the USA mid 1981 of 229.8 millions). The enrolment figures are decreasing since 198o. Several reasons led to this tendency: The decrease of birth rate since 1971[14)], a phase of consolidation in educational expansion. For instance: The student enrolment in higher education started 1977 with 625,ooo. The index of expenses for culture, education, science and health increased during this time (1977 = 1oo) up to 21o.6 and the projection for 1985 is 242.8. The increase rates of expenses in relation to the year before decreased since 198o.[15)] For the pre-school the target population are children from three to six. Nowadays these are about 7o millions.[16)] This means that about 15 % get a place in a pre-school. On the other hand pre-school education has a high priority since 1976. The national conference about general education (July 18-28, 1983) recommended to take care that all children can go at least for one year to pre-school before primary school is starting. Officially it was also to be told that in urban as well as in rural areas the demand for pre-schools is increasing.[17)]

4.3 Enrolment Secondary Education

Table 5: Student Enrolment Secondary School (millions, %) (s.p.9)

The student enrolment on secondary education increased from 14.323 (in 1965, before the Cultural Revolution) to 47.o28 millions in 1982. Since 1977 (68-69 millions) the enrolment is decreasing rapidly, especially in ordinary middle schools or general education. The number of students in vocational schools increased from 728,ooo in 1976 to 1,743,ooo in 1982. This is an indicator for the new educational policy to force vocational education in charge of general education in order to get a better harmonization between school and production system. Nevertheless, the portion of vocational scholars (4%) has not yet reached that in 1965 (35%). But a portion of 35% of vocational scholars does not guarantee employment for all graduates nowadays. Further has to be mentioned that this portion was realized partly with pupils in 'half school - half work' schools, and the ordinary middle school curriculum may also contain vocational courses nowadays and especially in the future when the new directives of more vocational orientation will be realized. If you relate the vocational enrolment with the senior secondary enrolment you get a portion of 17.5 % in 198o and 22 % in 1981. According to the proposal made by the National Conference about General Education in 1983 till 199o the portion general/vocational is planned 5o:5o.[19)]

4.4 Higher Education

An important change since the Cultural Revolution is, that since 1977 a national examination has to be passed to enter the higher educational system, whereas two years of practical work after finishing secondary education during the Cultural Revolution are no longer compulsory. There are two types of national entrance examinations: For social sciences the candidate has to pass written examinations in politics, Chinese language, mathematics, history and geography. For the natural sciences the subjects of the examination are politics, Chinese language, mathematics and chemistry. Since 1978 a foreign language has

Table 5: Student Enrolment Secondary School (millions, %)

		1965	%	1976	%	198o	%	1981	%	1982	%
(1)	Ordinary middle schools	9.338	65	58.365	99	55.o81	97	48.596	97	45.285	96
	Secondary technical schools	o.392		o.117		o.761		o.632		o.628	
	Secondary teacher training schools	o.155		o.3o4		o.482		o.436		o.4'1	
	Secondary agricultural and vocational high schools	4.438		o.3o7		o.454		o.481		o.7o4	
(2)	Total vocational schools	4.985	35	o.728	1	1.697	3	1.549	3	1.743	4
	Total (1) + (2)	14.323	loo	59.o93	loo	56.778	loo	5o.145	loo	47.o28	loo
(3)	Senior secondary schools					9.698		7.15o			
	Proportion (2) to (3) in %					17·5		22			

Source: Education in China 1981, p. 28, Statistical Yearbook of China 1983, p. 511, Henze 1984 [18)]

been added to the compulsory subjects.

From 1977 to 1981 the following statistics are available (millions)[2o]:

years of examination	1977	1978	1979	198o	1981
candidates[21]	5.7	5.9	4.6	4.5	3.6
examination passed	o.278	o.29o	o.27o	o.285	o.279
percentage of success	4.8	4.9	5.9	6.3	7.8

To get the permission to participate in the entrance examination, the following conditions have to be fullfilled:

a) not older than 26 (exceptions are possible),
b) unmarried (exceptions are possible),
c) good health,
d) graduation from senior secondary schools or having the same level like a senior secondary graduate,
e) for employees: the permission of the unit.

In recent times - especially since the study year 1983/84 - more attention has been paid to the 'moral' qualification of a student (for instance activities in the Communist Party, in Youth League, which are registered in the school files). Teachers of senior middle schools are therefore requested to write expert opinions about their graduates. These evaluations can be used as a criteria for admission to higher education.[22]

- Some statistics about Higher Education

The Chinese Education Association for International Exchanges gathered the following statistics concerning the academic year 198o: 675 institutions of higher education, 96 of them key ones, 172 teacher colleges and normal universities. In these institutions 1,143,7oo undergraduates studied, 338,ooo of them at teacher's colleges and normal universities. The faculty staff included 246,9oo members, with 4,2oo professors, 13,8oo associate professors, 119,1oo lecturers and 1o9,8oo assistants. The statistics concerning the academic year of 1965 are as follows: 434 institutions of higher education, 674,ooo students and

138,ooo teaching-staff (faculty). The student-teacher-relation in the years 1965 and 198o is as follows - differentiated as well as possible - concerning the different types of faculty[23]:

		198o	1965
teachers and assistents (=faculty)		4.63:1	4.88:1
a) professors (only)	272.3:1		
b) associate professors (only)	82.8:1		
c) lecturers (only)	9.6:1		
d) assistants (only)	1o.4:1		
a - c) altogether	8.3:1		

Since 1965 the student-faculty-relation has slowly improved. Not considering the aspect that the function of an assistant is in first line researching and not lecturing, the student-teacher-relation increased to 8.3:1. This is much lower compared with the student-teacher-relation at secondary and primary school level.[24] The student-teacher-relation concerning professors sums up to 272.2:1 and that of the lecturers to 9.6:1. Both statistics and relations indicate a broad fundament of assistants and lecturers, a small number of associate professors and even a smaller one of professors. That is much the same with the structure of the salaries. The range of monthly salaries in RMB (without cost of living bonus and premium) is the following:[25] professors 36o-25o, associate professors 2o5-157, lecturers 133-94, assistants 82-6o.

- Studying at Normal Universities[26]

Students which study at a normal university will become teachers at secondary schools. Enrolled students are assigned to classes with the same time-table. Lately the studies in a certain faculty have been differenciated into subjects (e.g. The East China Normal University has 14 faculties with 22 subjects (1982)). Whereas in former times all students in one faculty had the same time-table. Another innovation is compulsory courses and a certain amount of courses which can be chosen by the students (optional courses).

Higher education does not end with one final examination. On the contrary, the students have examinations and controls during and at the end of the terms. The date of examinations are fixed by the bureau of education and administration. The topics are either formulated by the course lecturers or by a committee of lecturers, if parallel courses are offered. The results of the examinations are registered. The controls are evaluated with passed/failed. Both results will be registered in the personal files. Students, who failed, can repeat the examinations or controls at the beginning of the next term. A student will not be able to achieve the next grade if he fails the repeated examinations in two main subjects. If he fails again, he must leave the institution.

Recently a credit system has been approved in several institutions of higher education - e. g. Beijing Normal University and East China Normal University (both visited by the author for several weeks). For instance during the four years of studies in education at the Beijing Normal University 134 credits have to be acquired, 1o8 in compulsory and 26 in optional courses or works (cf. table 6). Generally one point can be obtained per one term-week-hour. In the last term the student has to write his thesis. Either he chooses the topic himself and a supervisor is assigned to him, or he chooses the supervisor, who will assign a topic to him. The topic and supervisor are to be reported to the bureau of education and administration, which provides the means (for instance equipment, instruments etc.) and controls the date of delivery. The execution of the thesis can take up to 16 weeks . The East China Normal University's schedule of studies prescribes five weeks for the subject 'education'.

The thesis will be evaluated by the supervisor and annother competent evaluator. The best and the worst theses will then be examined by a committee of the faculty. It will decide which thesis should be published or which one has to be written again.

Table 1

Study Schedule for Education. Beijing Normal University (about 1978)

Subjects/Courses	Hours	Credits	Term/Term-Week-Hours 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Sum
Compulsory Courses											
History of the Communist Party of China	102	6	3	3							6
Chinese	102	6	3	3							6
Foreign Language	204	12	3	3	3	3					12
Sport	136	4	2	2	2	2					8
Physiology	102	4	6								6
Marxism, Leninism, Moaism	102	5					3	3			6
Psychology	102	5	3	3							6
Child Psychology	68	4	4								4
Educational Psychology	51	3			3						3
Education	204	11			6	6					12
History of Chinese Education	119	6				4	3				7
History of Foreign Education	102	5					3	3			6
Teaching Methods and Materials for Primary Education	102	4					3	3			6
Optional Courses	500	26					2	4	12	12	30
Teaching Practice	-	10									
Thesis	-	10									
Sum	2217	134	20	18	14	15	14	13	12	12	118

- An Example for a Study Schedule

The study schedule for education of the Beijing Normal University will here be recorded and analysed. The subject 'education' has been chosen because these graduates of this University will become assistants, research workers, post-graduates, teachers/lecturers at educational secondary (normal) schools/ institutions of higher education or at different levels of the educational administration.

The study schedule (cf. table 6) prescribes exactly which course has to be chosen in what term, if credits have to be gained and therefore examinations and controls have to be passed. Assigning the courses to subject classes the result (in %) is as follows: subject courses (compulsory) 43 %, optional courses 25 %, idealogical education, sport 17 %, foreign language, Chinese 15 %.[27)]

5. Conclusions, Outlook, further Questions

Looking back on a thousand-year-old-tradition in history and culture, nevertheless China has reached in certain sectors, as economic and educational indicators show, the status of a Third-World-Country at the present time. The main pedagogical goal is the all over-developed worker with socialistic perception. Following the directives of Mao Zedong (1957), the goal should have to be realized with an education for the proletariat combined with productive labour.[28)] Directives are still nowadays the leading ideas in the educational work in China.[29)] Nevertheless, the directives allow some interpretations. Especially in key-schools and key-colleges/universities in urban areas the concept of 'productive work' is broadly defined nowadays. According to own observations and discussions the cleaning of schools, parks, supervising of libraries are activities which are subsumed to productive work. Productive work is not to be done exclusively in factories, farms like during the Cultural Revolution. And there, where productive work is to be done in schools, the size of the classrooms,

the age of the 'students', the complexity of the operations do let suppose, that productive work does not play the same important role than before 1976.[30] Concerning the rural areas it might be different, because 'half school, half work'schools are there still running.[31]

According to a decision of the State Council the vocational orientation within the secondary level should be strengthened in order to meet the interests of the Four Modernizations.[32] More vocational secondary schools should be founded, general schools should be changed in vocational ones, vocational contents (curriculas) should be introduced to the general education.[33] Therefore, it will have to be analyzed in which extent these educational goals are going to be reflected in the national school books since 1978.[34]

Latest news indicate that this forced vocational educational orientation will lead to an increasing importance of physical work. In a conference in Beijing (8/1-1o/1982) about the working and learning program of primary and secondary education was reported, that in 43% of the schools in 28 provinces (Tibet excluded) physical work is running. The net value of this work reached 1981 the amount of 576 millions Yuan. These are 8.o3% of the public expenses for general education. The vice minister of education further mentioned,that physical work does not only produce economic values, it also contributes to the all-over-development of the scholar. Therefore,the ministry of education demanded of pupils of primary schools a productive/physical work of 45 minutes and of pupils of secondary schools loo minutes per week.[35]

In this conference it was also reported, that some colleges, run by the ministry of education, try to introduce experimentally physical work and military training. This indicates that the liberation from this type of work since 1976 is declining slowly. It should be investigated in the future if this tendency will spread over the other colleges.[36]

An indicator for basic social qualification is the literacy rate. The PR China has been very successful in this sector. In 1949 the illiteracy rate was 8o%. According to the latest census (7/1/1982) this rate has now reached 23.5% on the average.[37] 93% of the age group enrolled primary schools in 1982.[38] The constitution of 1982 embodies the right and the obligation to education for the first time since 1949. Till 199o the general primary education should be realized all over the country.[39] This should be examined in the future, because of apprehensions, that with the initiation of the new economic system in agriculture, i. e. the free market for over-production, leads to the tendency, that farmers' children have to work in the field instead of attending school.[4o] Nevertheless, the successful educational policy in this field should not be deminished. Remembering, that 8o % of the population are still living in rural areas and the total population has doubled since 1949, the actually reached rate of illiteracy is an unsurpassable achievement of area country in the Third World.

Let's have a look at the dimension of expenditure in education. The Sixth Five Year Plan (1981-85) plans a 96.7 billion Yuan expenditure in culture, education, science and health. These are 15.9% of the total public spendings in this period. In the Fifth Five Year Plan (1976-8o) this portion will be 11 %.[41] Experts estimate that the spendings in education have been 2 % of the Gross National Product in 198o and 3-4% in science. Representatives of schools and sciences are demanding a portion of 15-17% of the total public spendings (argumenting that this is the analogue portion in the USA and Japan).[42] This portion is to be reached in the planned public spendings in 1981-1985. However, it should be noticed that additional spendings in education have to be spent on the self-governmental level. The central government subsidizes this activities. Experts estimate that there will be further increases in these spendings in the future. Remembering this, the slight decrease of enrolments in the last year might be an indicator in consolidation of the new educational policy.[43]

The adjustment of educational output and manpower demand is neither quantitatively nor qualitatively realized. Indicators are the rates of unsuccessfulness in the national entrance examinations for higher education (see 4.4), the unemployment of youngsters (experts estimate about 2o millions unemployed youngsters[44]), and the demand for strengthening the vocational orientation of education by Chinese officials.

The educational system is selective. Since 198o about 5 % of the graduates of secondary education entered higher education. These are about 1.5 % of a year-group.[45] This portion rose because of the decrease of graduates from upper secondary schools. It might have reached 1o-15 % in 1983.[46]

Equal educational opportunity is not guaranteed. Women are under-represented. Their portion in primary school enrolment was 44.6%, on higher education level 23.5% in 198o. In technical secondary schools the portion is 35%, in secondary teacher training schools 25%, and ordinary/general middle schools 39.6% in 198o.[47] A similar positive correlation exists between the portion of women and the increasing level of the educational system.

The urban-rural-inequality in education is proved. Messages like 3o% of a town year group attending pre-school whereas only 2o% of rural year groups;[48] the greater willingness of rural parents to withdraw their children even from primary schools; the plan to realize a nation wide primary school system till 199o; the difficulties to find cader or higher educated graduates to work in rural areas[49], are strong indicators resulting this type of inequality. The same can be postulated in relation with the ethnical minorities. Their portion is 6.7% of the total population. These students don't need the same amount of scores in national entrance examinations as the Han-Chinese. Nevertheless, their portion in higher education decreased from 1977-79 from 5.9% (1977) to 3.66% (1979). In 198o the amount of scores has been decreased for these graduates. The rate of success in the national entrance examinations in higher education increased therefore from 5.2% (198o) to 5.3% (1981).[5o]

It is very difficult to answer the question if social equal opportunity is guaranteed. There are no official statistics concerning this dimension of educational opportunity. Kwong[51] reports, that students whose parents are intellectuals or caders are over-represented in higher education. These datas come from administration for higher education in Guangzhou and the Normal University of Shaanxi[52]. Of course, these datas are not representative for the PR China,and there might be a difference in social class definitions. Factors favouring educational social inequality, are the existence of key schools and colleges, the concentration of educational institutions, intellectuals and caders in towns, fees for school attendance, school lunch, books[53], although the units are subsidizing these fees. There are no fees for higher education. Except teacher training, which is not in very high favour by the students, students or their parents have to pay the living expenses. There are of course scholarships for non-teacher students, because 15 Yuan (cautious estimation) a month are even for worker parents, both having a job, an extraordinary burden.

What we need is more knowledge about the actual interpretation of the function of integration, and in the discussion concerning this topic the development of the relation 'red and expert' is central. In the two programmatic speeches of Deng Xiaoping in 1978 (national conferences about science and education) the main point was laid on 'expert'. The national entrance examinations for higher education since 1977, the foundation of key schools/colleges, are indicators for this political course. But it has been also critized later - especially the streaming. Since school year 1981/82 streaming was stopped in the province Shaanxi and since 1982/83 streaming has been stopped all over the country.[54] Taking in account the conference of ideological education, the new criteria for college admittance (one of the criterias is an expert opinion from the attended secondary school) the pendulum seems to swing in the direction of 'red'.

Nevertheless, the directives of Mao Zedong or of present political leaders and educational administrators, public speeches and reports are still too general to specify the function of integration. A wider concretisation of this function could perhaps be found in the new national school books. Therefore, a content analysis of the new national school books has just been started at my department.

6. Notes and References

Acronyms: BR = Beijing Rundschau; C.a. = China aktuell

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